INTRODUCTION

Children, the Nation, and the World

Simone Lässig and Andreas Weiß

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"What Hutten once said about his own era: 'The sciences are blossoming, minds are rejuvenated, it is a joy to be alive,' can also, in a certain sense, apply to our own era, in which culture has made gigantic strides thanks to the never-resting drive of the human mind to conduct research." These words could be found in the German *Textbook of World History* published in 1897[1]—a book that adumbrated the fundamental categories of knowledge in the nineteenth century and, in the process, ascribed a key role to breathtaking developments in science and technology.

> In all areas of the sciences, among the civilized peoples, there is an active rivalry, with the liveliest activity in the field whose results also benefit practical life in the great areas of the natural sciences. Physics, chemistry, technology are working these days—one almost no longer wishes to say "with steam" but rather: "with lightning speed." Railway networks, steamship lines, telegraph cables, wiring harnesses span the globe and bring peoples—by means of the press, which has become a world power—into a tremendous interaction through which every new achievement of mental activity just as well as the material successes of industriousness quickly become a common good of the world. Craft and art, technology, luxury, medicine are deriving the richest profit from the results of careful research as well as from the spirit of experimental enterprise. As bold researchers penetrate into foreign areas of the earth, illuminate the darkness of the "black portions of the Earth" in Africa, and strive to reach the Land of the Midnight Sun via steamships and airships, science is opening up the hidden secrets of nature. … Carried away by the ceaselessly turning flywheel of the times, man hardly allows his gaze to stop and rest on the past, the Now moves and excites him

so vigorously, and he is less occupied with the question of "what was?" than with the question of "what will come?"[2]

Contemporaries, like later historians, shared this view, characterizing their own century as a time in fast motion, with knowledge of the world multiplying at breakneck speed and the term "future" acquiring a whole new meaning. The transition from estate-based to middle-class society launched a revolution of knowledge that accelerated rapidly at the turn of the twentieth century.[3] No doubt, it was as socially and culturally relevant as the arrival of the digital age.

The Enlightenment provided the most important impetus for this revolution by fostering a new understanding of the world based in rational explanations. To know what held the world together at its core—this quest was a driving force not only for literary figures, exemplified by Goethe's Faust, or scholars in the traditional sense but also for the emerging educated middle class. This era saw the creation and expansion of knowledge networks as people sought to exchange information with other advocates of rational perception of the world outside of circles they could reach via their personal contacts. Expanded publication and translation activity made it possible for literate contemporaries to access a growing store of "foreign knowledge." Driven by scientific curiosity or commercial interests, missionary and civilizing zeal or colonial ambition, or a complex mix of motivations, more and more people traveled to or even settled in different and sometimes distant regions of the world. Those who did not travel themselves were drawn by this knowledge into the new, middle-class clubs and reading associations where they could expand their own learning in a circle of like-minded people and tap into foreign worlds. The German idea of *Bildung*[4]— lifelong striving for self-fulfillment, civilization and expansion of knowledge— forged people's identities and provided the cultural kit for a social group that wished to communicate beyond the borders of the German principalities and estate-based society in order to make sense of the present and the future. They also wished to have an emancipating effect and to increase knowledge within society to foster progress.[5]

Whereas the aura emanating from knowledge and science grew much stronger following the Enlightenment, the universalism of the late eighteenth century gradually gave way to nationalization in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although the shift away from universalism toward the nation-state was framed by and went along with empire building and imperialism and did not necessarily replace transnational, regional, or local perspectives of orientation and patterns of knowledge passed down from former generations,[6] it stimulated the development of new patterns of inclusion and exclusion for a society undergoing comprehensive social, economic, cultural, technological, and political changes. Questions about national characteristics, common historical roots, and cultural achievements permeated more and more fields, even if in

subtle ways. What could create a new kind of community and distinguish it from "others" while excluding those who did not belong?

The contributions to this volume reflect this dynamic and its effects on the knowledge that was available. They begin with the thesis that the patterns for ordering this rapidly growing and diverse new knowledge changed over the nineteenth century, as did the priorities for interpreting and standardizing it. The newly forming nation-states became more consolidated even as they increasingly interacted and, in some cases, formed or expanded their empires. Thus, the world was brought closer together by international trade relations, migration movements, and scholarly networks, new forms of publicity and travel, as well as colonial activities.[7] Global visions and real globalization processes began to mutually influence one another especially at the end of the nineteenth century in both tense and dynamic ways, fueling national self-confidence.

Contemporaries noted this ambivalence as well. For example, a 1904 history textbook for secondary schools claimed that the recently concluded nineteenth century was shaped by

> the great boom of the sciences, mainly the natural sciences in combination with technology. The latter then reconfigured the entire intellectual, political, societal and economic life of the cultured peoples from the ground up. … The railway and steamship have diminished distances dramatically and, moreover, can transport people and goods in masses. The telegraph and the telephone, undersea cables, wireless long-distance communications a[nd] that sort of thing enable an intellectual exchange—even a physical one with the telephone—for which the barriers of space and time nearly disappear. Consequently, this provides a cause for peoples to come much closer to one another than was the case in earlier centuries, and to exchange their material products and intellectual achievements to an increasing degree.

In the author's view, culture, science, and trade were transforming modern man more and more into a world citizen.

> In the world economy, however, only those nations can be influential that have high efficiency, people, and money power. For this purpose, those who are connected by the same language and heritage will also strive for political unity in order to be able to face other peoples in as closed a manner as possible. Thus, a requirement of the new-fangled "world economy" is the "national economy" and "nationalist movements" emerge. Civilized humanity is entering the age of nationalism.[8]

The increase in knowledge brought about by the discovery and colonization of the world demanded new modes of sorting and standardization.[9] This was especially true for schools, which were interested in the canonization of knowledge for didactic, pragmatic, institutional, and political reasons.[10] Other actors, spaces, and media through which knowledge could be circulated also sought new ways of organizing the abundance of new knowledge to reach young

Germans, who must have been searching near and far for orientation in the world around them. More recent studies are comparatively unanimous in assuming that the school as a modern institution generated important requirements for the modern nation as a community of communication; in the nineteenth century, one's nation became—as Jürgen Osterhammel put it—"the most comprehensive life-world framework for most people."[11] At the same time, more ways of interpreting the world, and of interweaving national and other emblems of belonging, emerged. This was especially so in the German Empire, where "world" categories encountered a frail and incompletely formed nation-state, and the relationship between what was foreign and what was familiar repeatedly had to be renegotiated.

The editors and authors of the present collection start with this idea and address an issue that was central for German history in the nineteenth century. While authors like Abigail Green have sought to understand whether and how particular and national cultures converged and competed in nineteenth-century Germany,[12] this volume analyzes the place the *wider world* had within this matrix and the ways the world "entered" the German nation. Which (parts of the) world—and whose world—were integrated into emerging national knowledge archives, and which ones were lost or suppressed? This volume thus focuses not on the genesis of modern science through the experience of the world but on the barely researched question of *what* world was formed in everyday discourses. It also explores how the information and fragments of knowledge that circulated in these discourses shaped the popular images that ordinary Germans could make of the world (and their nation). Our authors analyze widely available social stores of knowledge, as well as how constant they were and how they changed, from various disciplinary approaches and for very different arenas and media of knowledge production and circulation. In so doing, they make new considerations and concepts in the history of knowledge fruitful for a transnational and global German history.

Moreover, by specifying media and children as its two analytical axes, this volume addresses the broad scope of contemporary discourses and the diversity of available knowledge while maintaining a specific conceptual basis. All of the contributions dwell at the intersection of these two axes. By analyzing various *media* that began to spread mid-century, as well as cultures, values, and modes of interpreting the world all typical of the time, the authors come closer to the ideas that German *children and adolescents* made of their world in a time of tremendous upheaval. Without claiming to be comprehensive or to know which elements of socially available knowledge these different young actors *actually* absorbed, the contributions address a research lacuna by presenting tableaus of socially debated or legitimated knowledge that likely influenced the worlds that larger groups of Germans, and particularly German children, lived with and imagined at that time.

Our focus on children and adolescents is not merely a pragmatic choice. Rather, it pays tribute to the fact that childhood and youth are genuine historical phenomena; the concepts of "child," "teenager," and "adult" change according to time, space, and social settings as much as the social meaning of childhood and youth do.[13] Since the history of childhood is a relational category always linked to the history of adults, the field calls for attention from specialists outside of its usual boundaries and should be considered an integral part of social and cultural history.[14] The decision to address childhood in this way in this volume derives from the historical value attributed to this group in societal discourses and constellations during the period it focuses upon—the period between the Enlightenment and the First World War. A rough demographic *snapshot* alone suffices to illustrate the historical and historiographical relevance of children and adolescents. Compared to the present, the nineteenth century was decidedly young: Children under fourteen comprised only one-tenth of the total population in Germany in 2015,[15] but they made up more than a third on average in the German states between 1822 and 1911. In 1890, 45 percent of the population across the empire was under the age of twenty,[16] and youths were even more concentrated in urban areas—that is, the most dynamic and modern spaces.

Children and adolescents embodied the future of society in the Wilhelmine era from various perspectives. The cultural fixation on youth—which shaped all sociocultural and political milieus—and the great extent to which "youth" also became a symbol of the vitality and innovative potential of the nation have been well studied and demonstrated.[17] Yet even before this, the Enlightenment largely defined itself in terms of the child. According to Silvy Chakkalakal, the child became "a figure of cultural transition," an emblem that acquired central significance for the self-understanding of leading Enlightenment thinkers, then of educated citizens, and finally of other groups in a society oriented toward middle-class norms and life plans.[18] Children symbolized the transition and encounter of various but closely connected cultural spheres because they were both natural and social beings. Since children were regarded as vacillating between savagery and civility as they matured, they also served as projection screens for new societal designs and ideas about the order of the world. It was assumed that barely "civilized" social groups—just like children—could be educated, refined, and thus raised to a new cultural level. In the "pedagogical" eighteenth century, shaped by a belief in the fundamental educatability of nearly all people, the understanding of childhood and youth as independent life phases was formed. This understanding continues to exert an influence in our times, even if it is continuously reformulated.[19]

A pedagogy developed that translated specifics of how children became familiar with the world into didactic models and practical actions. This pedagogy aimed to expose children to the most varied stimuli so that they could learn about their world in age- and developmentally appropriate ways. How could

one strengthen children's creativity, emotionality, and imagination? How could one allow their individual potential to blossom, but also steer them along adult-defined paths? These questions preoccupied not only parents and teachers but also publishers and printers, toymakers and exhibition curators, and later also the advertising industry, not to mention the state, in increasingly gender-specific ways.[20] One implication of the emergence of pedagogy as a crucial science of the eighteenth century was that children and childhood were treated in an ever more scientific fashion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pedagogy would become a driving force of novel professional and scientific fields like pediatrics, psychoanalysis, developmental psychology, a "thirst" for child-related data still unusual at that time, and the child study movement as it developed at the end of the nineteenth century.[21]

This volume's focus on children and adolescents is also relevant because an image of youth developed in this period that impacted the entire society by the end of the century: youth came to be seen as a spiritual power standing outside of a society and yet embodying its future, precisely because of its temporary liminal position.[22] "Youth," as Mark Roseman puts it, "became a cultural label, a projection or a repository" whose interpretation in the German territories of the early nineteenth century was all the more influential because another projection—that of the nation—was so fragile.[23]

Finally, our focus on children and adolescents is particularly relevant because of the tremendous role the growth in compulsory schooling played in the period under consideration; state formation and mass schooling were two closely related fundamental processes of the nineteenth century. School as an institution ultimately became a state matter, and once it was implemented, compulsory schooling also changed even ordinary people's ideas about childhood as a specific life phase, disconnecting it from work and the labor market.[24] Around 1900, there were almost nine million pupils in the German Empire. Whereas the total population had increased by 174 percent between 1822 and 1896, the proportion of those attending school grew far more dynamically—by 266 percent.[25] Education and training were no longer the privilege of families or religious institutions but had become a state matter from the time children reached the age of six. In the nineteenth century, the state established a monopoly in the field of institutional education and knowledge transfer; this monopoly, which still shapes Germany's educational landscape today, is also related to the role of teachers and of the media used to convey knowledge in schools.

In the midst of the exponential rise in compulsory schooling, new tendencies emerged that Swedish suffragist and educator Ellen Key called an entry into the "Century of the Child"; it is closely tied to the development of the so-called reform pedagogy and the modern youth movement, but also to the Social Democratic education program—and it gives further weight to the focus of this volume: children and adolescents, as future citizens of the state, drew the

attention of the state and society, which were intensely interested in finding the appropriate framework for educating the next generation as it would determine the course of the society and the nation. In this context, the pedagogy of the Enlightenment and its revolutionary perception that childhood and youth could be regarded as distinct phases in human life once again became interesting—albeit within a fundamentally different interpretive frame.[26] Nationalism became a mass phenomenon in the Wilhelmine era, at which point it blended together with a race discourse that had partly been generated in the eighteenth century already but was now utilized within a different context. The research literature noted this development early on but long regarded it as a project of the (educated) middle-class elites.[27] More recently, there have been added calls to investigate the structural change of national thinking also "from below" and from other underexamined perspectives. The question this volume asks about the knowledge of the world available to children in Germany between the Enlightenment and High Imperialism offers such a perspective.

All of the contributions together give an impression of images of the world that developed for children and adolescents in an era when processes of accelerated globalization coincided directly with the educational revolution and growing nationalism, when optimism about progress and fears of crises, the forging of new social spaces and the dissolution of traditional life worlds, growing poverty, and the creation of the middle class all equally shaped everyday life, and elements of opening up and limiting world knowledge and interpretations of the world were closely intertwined on many levels: How did educational and popular media deal with the new abundance of knowledge? Which stores of knowledge were taken up anew in the reservoir of societal knowledge—conceived of for children and, thus, defined as central to the future—and which lost relevance? How did the media analyzed here represent other nations and cultures, and what semantics and narrative structures did they use to transmit knowledge or images about them? In other words, which explicit or implicit patterns of world interpretation were encoded within these media? These are just some of the questions addressed in this interdisciplinary volume, which brings together historical scholarship and literary studies. Likewise, this volume dwells at the intersection of four very productive but largely unconnected fields of research—research on nation and empire in German history prior to 1918, the history of childhood, research on the history of intentional children's and youth literature and other media addressed to specific audiences, and, finally, the history of knowledge. How the contributions can contribute to developing this expanding field will be taken up in the concluding essay.

Entangled Globalization and Nationalization Processes

When the Enlightenment distanced itself from naïve piety and superstition and called for reason, a new understanding of knowledge as a product of rational explanations of the world emerged. The constant increase of new knowledge was supposed to be useful to societies by helping to secure their wealth, and also facilitate individual fulfillment and progress. "Progress," in turn, was one of the fixed points that nineteenth-century European societies were devoted to. They saw it as part of their self-appointed mission to "civilize" not only the uneducated and culturally backward members of their own country but also foreign peoples. In this, nationalistic and imperial-European perspectives became entangled in an interesting way. For example, pupils in Silesia, Poznan, and West Prussia were supposed to develop an appreciation for the civilizational attainments that Prussia gave to these former Polish areas. In accordance with the myth of empty space established in the colonial rhetoric of the time and also with the nearly ever-present understanding of cultural and moral superiority, textbooks for these provinces portrayed Poland in the time prior to 1772 as a wilderness or abandoned land in which the "impoverished and dirty people … mutely and sluggishly" lived their lives "without discipline, without law, without a master" until—following the topos of the extremely well-organized, hard-working, and benevolent Prussians—Prussian civil servants, craftsmen, doctors, lawyers, and teachers brought them culture and order. On the global level, the task of helping to form culture and civilization was interpreted more as a supranational one. In his *Schulgeographie* of 1882, Alfred Kirchhoff noted that the powerful European nations "spread their Christianity with missionaries and gradually their entire civilization and culture among the indolent people of the earth" with their "backward" civilizations.[28]

Beyond these comprehensive changes in the understanding of progress and civilization, the industrial revolution, modernized agriculture, and unparalleled population growth of the nineteenth century all undermined the relevance of traditional social ties and provoked individualization processes. The traditional social order began to dissolve, and the legal, social, cultural, and knowledge systems that had structured people's lives for many generations rapidly lost meaning. Simultaneously, a small educated middle class formed and grew increasingly important in cultural terms, peasants were liberated, and an industrial workforce emerged, so that society became ever more urban and technological. All of these changes, in conjunction with other fundamental processes of modernization, facilitated not only the movement of ideas but also of people, so that more and more individuals encountered previously foreign peoples and groups.

To be sure, many people stayed in place, yet connectedness, mobility, and migration counted among the key novelties of the nineteenth century along with the explosion of knowledge and the media. There had been migration of many

sorts before, but it reached new proportions when the system of estates dissolved: while people moved only on a small scale at first, by the middle of the century, there was mass emigration from Europe. At the end of the 1840s, about 250,000 Europeans left for other world regions every year; from 1904 to 1914, it had grown to an average of 1.3 million annually.[29] Over the course of the nineteenth century, 55 to 60 million Europeans left the continent either temporarily or permanently—most of them in the direction of North America.[30] Between 1840 and 1880, about 15 million Europeans were already drawn to this New World, about 4 million of them Germans. Whether these people emigrated, continued beyond North America, or returned to the German lands, all of them moved between geographical and cultural spaces, becoming enmeshed in new communication networks. This extended already existing trade, scholarly, and missionary relationships and, consequently, also increased the available societal knowledge about other world regions and realms of experience considerably: in Joachim Oltmer's estimation, emigrants to America alone sent more than 100 million letters to Germany between 1820 and 1914. These were often widely circulated among relatives and acquaintances, reaching a multitude of recipients and possibly sparking or strengthening a general interest in foreign worlds. In some social circles, they may have had a greater impact even than other contemporary media.[31]

Those who traveled for research purposes also spurred interest in the wider, unknown world. Many of them wrote reports in popular media about their own or other Europeans' discoveries, sometimes out of an entrepreneurial spirit, and sometimes to make themselves and their trips more important. Thus, they helped to increase ethnological and geographical knowledge, especially. Yet other groups, too, like merchants and missionaries, diplomats and colonial officials, craftsmen, farmers and engineers, emigrants, colonially motivated settlers, and political exiles had come to move about almost everywhere in the world,[32] and they all formed specific but also entangled networks of communication. By the end of the eighteenth century, the exchange of books, pamphlets and newspapers, pictures, and other objects of knowledge intensified and extended far beyond limited territories. This exchange fueled contemporaries' passion for collecting, as well as the founding of the first public museums, which followed upon the royal cabinets of curiosities. Publications, toys, and visual materials, and especially those designed for children, multiplied and were widely disseminated as part of this process.[33]

Everywhere, new spaces of communication and knowledge production emerged—also for Germans, who began to emigrate into the world well before the 1880s, when the German Empire was preparing to become a colonial power. Recent research has shown how much German territories were connected to the Atlantic world and also to the slave trade; it has revealed the colonial fantasies that inspired Germans before German colonies came into being.[34] This research also

points to worldwide contraction, entanglement, and networking of social inter-
actions affecting broad swaths of the population in the middle of the nineteenth
century. These processes accelerated from the 1870s, finally penetrating into
everyday life in Germany at the latest during this phase. Foreign goods appeared
in German markets, colonial objects and foreign people were included in exhibi-
tions, and, from 1910, new steamships could cross the Atlantic in a week, turn-
ing it from an ocean into merely a "great pond."[35] All of these new developments
furthered the contraction of spaces and processes of globalization.[36] Those who
wished to find orientation in an ever larger and encroaching world had to under-
stand this new world better, even if their social relations were limited to the local
area. Such orientation was especially important for children, whose lives then as
now were largely oriented toward the "future" and shaped by contingency. At
the same time, setting oneself apart from "others" seemed just as essential as the
question of what differentiated Germans (or also Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians,
etc.) or Europeans from others, as well as what united them and could unleash
inclusive forces. In the last several years, research has convincingly demonstrated
that nationalization and globalization were mutually determining and that many
contemporaries saw the world as the next stage of civilizational development in
relation to the nation, its historical mission, and its future.[37] The defining and
dissolving of boundaries should be understood as two sides of the same coin:
modern nation-states should also be regarded as products of globalization.[38]

By undermining traditional patterns of order and perception, globalization
advanced the search for the specifics of a nation and also fostered local and
regional identification. In the German Empire, this was evident in the boom of
the concept of *Heimat*, or home,[39] which was far more important in elementary
school curricula than the idea of the nation or even the world.[40] This accords with
the established research paradigm that nationalism and the dream of empire were
primarily middle-class phenomena. Due to their lack of political power, mem-
bers of the educated middle class, above all, were active in the publishing world
and strove to find a national identity; these intellectual elites were the first to
reflect colonial visions in their discourse.[41] Yet various recent studies on German
colonialism and colonial culture in the German Empire suggest that we might
have to reassess this view, at least for the period after 1890, and to work out the
essence as well as the dynamics of German nationalism more precisely beyond
middle-class elites.[42]

In this context, children and the media produced for them provide a little-
studied access point to the value of imperial thought and nationalism.[43] Two
topics should already be indisputable in light of the latest research. First, colo-
nial attitudes and perceptions seeped into German society long before a German
colonial policy directed beyond Europe emerged. They seeped in, for instance,
through the idea of "Poland," widely distributed geographical magazines, and
new scholarly fields like ethnology.[44] Second, it has become clearer that Germany

became a nation-state in the middle of a world of empires, so it should no longer be regarded as a delayed nation but rather as a "nationalizing state," in Brubacker's words,[45] in that the nation was more an *aspiration* than a reality.

The authors of this volume approach this *aspiration* by concentrating on children—that is, a social group that was particularly exposed to the normative knowledge of textbooks and other state-sponsored media. Yet they can also address the discrepancy between the norms and reality by analyzing non-state media for children from the realms of literature and entertainment. Some of these media may have challenged or undermined the nationalization project as well as the imperial-colonial ambitions of the state and the middle-class elites, while they may have also lent more weight to these projects than the school system and its canon of knowledge could have due precisely to their unauthorized nature.

The History of Children—An Entry Point to Cultural History

The tremendous expansion of knowledge of the world and the undeniable influence of globalization forces in the decades before the First World War were not linear developments. These phenomena did not affect all societal fields and social strata to the same extent. In historical scholarship, heightened attention to transnational, transregional, and global dimensions of historical development does occasionally mask counterforces, gaps, and ambivalences within them; for example, whereas whole villages emigrated to new continents in the southern and northern regions of Germany, especially, with Germans becoming the largest group of immigrants in the United States in the early 1880s,[46] numerous other village communities carried on in a traditional manner, with the people who lived in them relating their thinking and actions to the spaces that were close to their life worlds. Above all, in villages with a single-room schoolhouse, where the demands of agriculture shaped everyday life and parents at best only read almanacs, the Bible, and hymnals, if they were literate at all, knowledge about a wider world may well have remained rather limited even into the twentieth century.

While this insight does not always come to the fore in the media analyzed in this volume, we do take it as a framework and a defining feature of the long nineteenth century that there were regional reworkings, gaps, and delayed developments in basic processes of modernization. From the *bird's eye perspective* of an entire century, it is absolutely undeniable that mass literacy and compulsory schooling generated new spaces of knowledge, as well as the educational media related to them. These media then took a key position in the knowledge production of the society, resulting in a clear democratization and secularization of access to world knowledge. To be sure, secular and sacred power were once again allied in the German Empire; biblical allusions were firmly incorporated

into the scientific curricula, and pastors and priests continued to intervene in the school life of the villages.[47] Yet the state elementary school, whose worldview was neutral, at least established itself as a binding model and norm demanded by society, advancing a knowledge system that was becoming more and more secular. However, one of the aforementioned ambivalences of compulsory schooling was that knowledge mediation became institutionalized and standardized. The state school became one of the most important formally legitimized producers and administrators of knowledge, although competing bearers of knowledge like the church, sociopolitical movements, popular mass media, and the emerging entertainment industry should not be forgotten. The state, which made decisions about curricula and the admission of teaching materials, directly and indirectly influenced which stores of knowledge were conveyed to which social groups, and which were not (any longer). In accordance with the structures of school as a space of knowledge production and the textbook as a knowledge medium, the expansion of access to education went along with increasing canonization and standardization, detemporalization, and simplification of knowledge.[48] The elementary school—the only relevant school structure for most young Germans—along with the rational explanation of the world it propagated, underscored society's moral-religious orientation and fostered discipline and a patriotic sensibility.[49]

Much of this also applies to the German states' secondary schools in the nineteenth century. Around 1800, the first municipal citizens' schools (*Bürgerschulen/ Realkundliche Schulen*) were established; in the mid-nineteenth century, these evolved into the scientific secondary schools (*Realgymnasien*), an alternative to classics-focused secondary schools (*Humanistische Gymnasien*), which laid important groundwork for later successes in German science and scholarship. "Like otherwise only in the military field," Jürgen Osterhammel concludes, "Germany became the inspirer of the world in the field of education."[50] But to what extent did the world conversely inspire German teachers and pupils of this era? What did they experience inside and outside of school about Europe and other continents, and about the history and contemporary characteristics of the people who populated these areas? This volume seeks to address these open questions by using media produced especially for children[51] as an access point not only to the knowledge reservoir of the educated but also to the everyday knowledge and discourses of large population groups.

Social historians began publishing on the history of children and childhood in the 1960s.[52] In the 1980s, under the influence of cultural history, this then became an independent, productive, and broad field of research. However, only in the last two decades have historians outside of the new subdiscipline of childhood and youth studies begun to recognize this extremely important social and cultural group, even though children are relatively "mute" in the classical sources of the discipline.[53] As early as 1998, Joseph M. Hawes's declared that "childhood

is where you catch a culture in high relief,"[54] suggesting the tremendous potential of historical research into childhood for advanced historical questions: approaching historical processes from the perspective of children and their societies' respective understanding of childhood and youth can highlight the priorities that those societies set for themselves, which visions of the future they developed, and how both of these changed over various periods and historical caesuras. Two methodological approaches contributed to the establishment of the field and, ultimately, to childhood research becoming an indispensable part of—and a particular analytical lens for—social and cultural history. Initially, research focused on how childhood has been constructed in various contexts and largely analyzed this phase of life as a product of definitions, standardizations, and visions of the adult world. Children's own spaces of experience and agency played a subordinate role; they were the object of research. A second strand of research examined children as historical subjects, exploring configurations in which children appeared as willful, *relatively* autonomous actors—relative because this research also recognized age hierarchies and dependency structures and related them to children's horizons of action.[55] The latest research now merges the two, allowing childhood to "emerge" in the historical-dialectical interplay of discourses about children and children's practices, and their reciprocal impact.[56] For example, new studies on the history of leisure and youth organizations investigate not only adult educational concepts and disciplining practices but also intergenerational dynamics and the genesis of independent sociocultural spaces.[57]

Against this backdrop, our volume views children and youth as the target audience of media. Wherever the state of research and availability of sources make it possible, however, the authors also analyze whether or how adolescents, as active consumers of media-transmitted knowledge, influenced certain media and their structures. This is not equally possible for all of the media due to their specific nature and their entanglement with other factors. Other media and influences complemented or challenged every one of them because children and youth typically did not focus on a particular source but sought out and put together what they found worth knowing from a variety of sources. In other words, youth probably did not separate arenas of knowledge, such as literature, school, and mass culture, in their everyday lives nearly as much as adults or scholars did. It is likely that they were more tightly connected than other societal groups in an entanglement of competing and converging discourses and shaped by actors pursuing economic and political interests alongside pedagogical and educational ones.

This entanglement began when modern mass media emerged beginning around 1850 and coincided with German society's growing obsession with youth. Media addressed primarily or also to children[58] offer an especially promising access point for a variety of research questions, such as when and how colonial discourse began to shape everyday culture, to what extent the archives of societal knowledge formed largely in the eighteenth century were changed by this

and other discourses, and how, in this context, knowledge, on the one hand, and entertainment, culture, and commerce, on the other, interacted. Children always stand in a dependent relationship to adults, so their autonomy is (and always has been) limited. Yet abundant evidence suggests that children influenced the formats and contents of media with their individual ways of adapting to the world and their expectations, thus—as, for instance, the contributions by Hamlin, and O'Sullivan in this volume indicate—also taking part in societal knowledge production. It stands to reason that historians can no longer understand children as passive recipients of media contents and as objects in their research but rather must take them seriously as willful actors, cultural translators, and producers of knowledge.

Changing Media Transmitting the World to German Children

The Enlightenment generated many new media and spaces for interacting and sharing information about the world. This well-documented process went far beyond the larger urban centers.[59] Communal reading in families and in the semi-public reading groups and clubs also became widespread.[60] It was in these contexts that an oft-described transition in reading habits occurred. Whereas people had previously engaged in close, intensive, and repetitive reading of a few, mostly religious, books, they began to read extensively from constantly new and changing materials. This cultural shift, which started around 1850, promoted exposure to new worlds and ideas, and often made such exposure possible at all. Latin texts rapidly declined in importance while the number of secular and German-language publications exploded. Between 1800 and 1846, nearly 300,000 books were listed in book exhibitions; between 1856 and 1900, this number more than doubled (661,700), whereas 416,500 books were produced in the short span from 1900 to 1914.[61]

At the same time, the kinds of publications multiplied. From the end of the eighteenth century, in addition to educational Enlightenment literature, encyclopedias, and older religious and popular prints, there were reports about scientific discoveries, geographical treatises and philosophical tracts, travelogues, fiction and prose, new sorts of texts on religious edification and education, biographical works, and often historical or naturalist treatises for home and school. Increasingly, many such works were also translated from other languages. In addition, a special literature for children and youth emerged. In the mid-nineteenth century, both textbooks for schools as well as popular magazines and family newspapers, like the especially successful *Westermanns Monatshefte* and the *Gartenlaube*,[62] which published a special edition for children between the ages of seven and fifteen from January 1886 to December 1891, became more important, and around 1900 the market for illustrated magazines, dime-store

novels, and pulp magazines finally took off. Much-maligned as "trash and pulp literature," these genres tended to address young people, much like the rising film industry in the late German Empire. As a result, adults reflected on them with skepticism, unease, and also harsh criticism.[63]

We know a great deal about these and other changes in the media market from research into early book and reading history, from the history of literature with its subdiscipline of children's and youth literature, as well as from the more recent field of media history. We know considerably less, however, about the *use* of media outside of the upwardly mobile middle class, which has been a primary focus of scholarship on this era. Supplemental studies on the working class only appeared at the height of social history research in the 1970s and 1980s,[64] so the reading habits of the rural population or the lower middle class have hardly been analyzed in depth.[65] For the pre-Wilhelmine period, it is still difficult to assess which media were actually broadly consumed. Although studies in media history try to examine practices of adaptation, interpretation, and transformation of media contents for the eighteenth and nineteenth century as well, there are still high methodological hurdles and a dearth of reliable sources.

When reading the contributions in this volume, which address central aspects of media transformation in the long nineteenth century, one must keep in mind that there were larger and smaller gaps between the norm of literacy—established in the late eighteenth century—and its practice, even among the nobility and the burghers of German towns. In the first half of the nineteenth century, members of the urban middle classes seldom inherited any books other than Bibles, hymnals, and prayer books.[66] In and of themselves, however, such findings do not allow for exact conclusions about literacy rates because private book *purchases* and subscriptions to magazines were not widespread practices well into the early imperial period, even among the middle classes. The things Germans read mostly came from a rapidly expanding network of urban private lending libraries, and later also the adult education, workers', and union libraries,[67] which successfully competed with church libraries and those of other religious institutions.[68] After 1880, when many publications became far cheaper and book production veritably exploded,[69] the German *Bürgertum* and other parts of the middle classes also began to enjoy home libraries.[70] Nonetheless, the number of borrowed books continued to increase, indicating that the circle of readers expanded once again near the end of the nineteenth century—particularly among young skilled laborers and workers.[71] At this time, Germans were already witnessing and participating in another media revolution that was closely tied to the development of a consumer society[72] and thus affected the everyday lives of broad swaths of the population.[73] Two developments are particularly worth mentioning for understanding the contributions to this volume: First, new technologies helped to lower the costs of both existing publication formats and the establishment of new ones, which fostered the development of mass media. Second, the lower costs

enabled previously marginal groups to become consumers of these media—such as the lower classes, women, and youth[74]; the rise of trading cards for different classes and age groups is just *one* telling example. Since media supply also reflects consumer demand, both media producers and media consumers influenced societal discourses, though in different ways. Accordingly, the *agency* of the "masses" objectively increased when the mass media market emerged.

Just how much these groups could influence media and discourses depended largely on the genre and the extent to which that genre's market could address them as consumers. In the case of textbooks, for example, the influence of the primary users was quite limited.[75] Although textbooks became a mass medium—perhaps the first mass medium ever, because hardly anyone could get around them once general compulsory schooling had been implemented—the authorities largely determined what they contained. To be sure, authors and teachers' interest groups were occasionally able to articulate their own ideas of relevant knowledge and educational formats for presenting the material,[76] and textbook authors had some freedom in selecting information and writing texts. Yet publishers who wished to survive in the expanding textbook market had to gain or keep the support of education-savvy parents, teachers, schools, and teacher seminars as buyers, so they still had to orient themselves toward state frameworks and expectations, as defined in curricular and examination requirements, and toward the approval processes for educational materials. Consequently, textbooks primarily represent the knowledge that states and societies—depending on their political system—categorized as relevant to their present and future, knowledge that they wished to pass on to the next generation and thus inscribe in the society's cultural memory.

Textbooks may well have been the only *secular* publications available at all to many children in nineteenth-century Germany. Nevertheless, despite their salience, children's images of the world were shaped by many different media. There were religious writings and songbooks that parents owned, as well as literature targeting children's needs and potential, as well as the educational aims of adults. Over the course of the century, such literature became more differentiated and widespread, yet most works, especially those that appeared before 1880, were of such high quality in terms of their format, typography, illustrations, binding, and paper stock that they could hardly reach the "masses." A large share of the literature listed in the classic handbooks of research on children's and youth literature was published for children of "the educated classes" and mostly read by them. Although some works around 1800 targeted "the youth of all classes" or "children of the rural population" and wished to reach a wide segment of the populace, these were exceptions and, in most cases, unsuccessful. Brockhaus's *Pfennig-Magazin für Kinder* (*Penny Magazine for Children*), founded in 1834, with reports from faraway lands and treatises on their history and nature, was one successful example. Children's and juvenile literature could only be characterized

as "popular" after the first third of the nineteenth century, when less wealthy families could also access it via public libraries and ever cheaper editions.

Textbooks differed from popular reading materials not only in terms of their social reach but also in their basic formats and the context of their reception. Textbooks prepared knowledge intentionally and largely in nonfictional forms, unless they were reading anthologies and religious books. In children's and juvenile literature, by contrast, fictional texts prevailed, although nature and geographical nonfiction also developed as genres, beginning in the Enlightenment.[77] As the developmental psychology of the time discovered special characteristics of each age and gender, such literature was generated in relation to these: it was supposed to appeal to children's curiosity and imagination by being very visual, animating them to continuously expand their knowledge in an entertaining and exciting manner.[78] Some publishers used special features of children's adaptation to the world as a "detour" for introducing new information and entertainment media for educated adults, as well. For example, Friedrich J. Bertuch literally illustrated knowledge about foreign peoples and natural spaces, as well as reports on the latest inventions and discoveries, in his encyclopedically designed *Bilderbuch für Kinder* (*Picture Book for Children*); the 237 individual issues published between 1790 and 1839 contained about 6,000 etchings. Silvy Chakkalakal interprets Bertuch's picture book as both reflecting and prompting an ever more scientific mode of observing the world: being connected to children gave such pictures and visualizations positive connotations so that they could also be woven into adults' everyday lives.[79] In an era when the boundaries between science, the public, and education were essentially fluid, children's literature apparently functioned as a laboratory for communicating knowledge in society, and in middle-class families especially; knowledge about foreign and exotic peoples and places played an important role in this. Textbooks remained a part of this development as long as they were designed more for use at home or in private lessons; illustrations were too expensive to be used extensively in school textbooks for mass use. Nevertheless, many textbook authors worked hard to make their texts current and grounded in science.[80]

As a result, the distinctions between children's and juvenile literature and textbooks for children only arose around 1850. Textbooks represent state-formed stores of knowledge that children were obliged to encounter in didactically structured spaces and collective settings. Children's and juvenile literatures, by contrast, stand for popular, often aesthetically structured knowledge presented to children in an entertaining way, which they consumed individually in private spaces. Children's and juvenile literature was implicitly rather than explicitly educational; it was not nearly as bound in its nature and had a different claim to truth than the obligatory information in textbooks. In the early nineteenth century, the two functions tended to be more blended, as we will see especially in the

contributions by Kirsten Belgum, Matthew Anderson, and Miriam Schneider, which focus on works that aimed to educate and entertain simultaneously.

From the Enlightenment, children had come ever more into focus as bearers of knowledge who should be shaped early on, so it was only natural that the stores of knowledge children had easy access to were increasingly controlled, and that pedagogues as well as politicians and other actors generated reading materials to shape the views of the youth. The House of Hohenzollern, as Schneider shows in this volume, for instance, tried to forge an affective bond between children and the ruling family by means of a refined literary propaganda comprised of adventure novels in which princes played an important role. Anderson highlights a pedagogue's clever use of travel anthologies to excite his pupils about the wider world beyond the classroom, and Belgum explores how an educational reformer utilized a highly popular story from England to spur pupils to study foreign languages while educating them on how best to behave right at home. Religious communities, too, used literature for persuasion, as Stornig's analysis of special missionary literature for children shows. Yet perhaps even more, it was "street vendors … cigarette and convenience stores, kiosks at train stations and elsewhere"[81] where children of all classes encountered dime-store novels and trading cards. The latter became an object of knowledge transmission that cut across generations and, thanks to their aesthetic form and strict categorization of image motifs, sparked a passion for collecting among young and old, as Judith Blume demonstrates in her article. Age differences were also blurred when it came to adventure tales about Winnetou and Old Shatterhand, Kara Ben Nemsi and Hadschi Halef Omar. Karl May's imaginations of distant worlds had been sold more than 1.6 million times by 1913.[82] Since dime-store novels were widespread among lower-class families, adolescents in these homes could easily access and read them frequently, just as working-class children could with their parents' Social Democratic brochures and newspapers,[83] although there were certainly regional and confessional differences.[84]

Along with changing media access, ideas about truth, validity, and authenticity changed as well.[85] Katharina Stornig shows how missionary orders endeavored to generate knowledge especially for European children to persuade them to support missionary work. After that, they increasingly faced competition from other media and actors who claimed a particularly high degree of authenticity, including ethnological exhibitions,[86] colonial exhibitions, and, finally, ethnological museums. The ethnological exhibitions initially showcased exotic objects in a relatively unordered way, but the ethnological museums gradually developed into spaces of systematically ordered knowledge and, in some cases, also into institutions with an educational aim.

We should not overestimate the value of museums as knowledge mediators for broad swaths of the population because they were largely middle-class places in the nineteenth century. Yet it was precisely the events and activities that

popularized colonial claims and cultures that fostered the democratization of exhibitions of the most varied kinds and allowed them to become a part of mass culture—not least on account of school excursions.[87] No doubt, children were especially drawn to everything that was foreign and exotic in these venues because such things appealed to their imaginative powers and emotional responses more than textbooks did.

Stories about Indians, above all, were extremely successful in Germany, as H. Glenn Penny demonstrates in his contribution. In such popular uses of the exotic, knowledge was generated by means of entertainment and excitement—and not only in the metropolises. For example, as Wolfgang Fuhrmann researched, the restaurant and business owner Carl Müller presented the residents of the Thuringian royal seat of Altenburg with a collection of exotic products and ethnographic objects from the African colonies. At first he displayed them in his shop windows, but from 1905 they were exhibited in a small colonial museum that he regularly invited school classes to visit. Müller, one of the early protagonists of colonial film and thus of visual culture, who knew how to combine colonial enthusiasm efficiently with business interests, also made his restaurant a site of entertainment *and* education.[88] The so-called human zoos or ethnological exhibitions, first organized by Carl Hagenbeck in 1874, also claimed to entertain and to educate to the same degree.[89] They presented people from foreign cultures—from Scandinavia and America to the overseas colonies—along with their supposed everyday practices. Although these exhibitions were certainly orchestrated events largely staged in zoological gardens—that is, sites of natural science education—the organizers often managed to evoke an impression of particular authenticity and, thus, to cast themselves as trustworthy purveyors of knowledge, as suggested by the high number of visitors. Many of those in attendance were members of the local middle class who were keen on education. Similar touring exhibitions were also very well attended.[90] This blending of scientific practice and popular knowledge gave media entrepreneurs and experts of the most various kinds an attractive opportunity to present their own knowledge to the "average man" or child.

Media success then dictated the standards of acceptable knowledge. Geographers and producers of atlases from the 1870s, for example, could no longer lag behind Stieler's *Hand-Atlas* (handy world atlas), which August Petermann had revised for the Perthes publishing house. And Arnold Hirt managed to further develop woodcuts, which his father Ferdinand Hirt had encouraged, to such an extent that works of the publishing house Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn, such as *F. Hirts Bilderschatz zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (F. Hirt's Treasury of Images on Geography and Ethnology), decisively shaped visual representations in general, influencing the motifs on trading cards, for example.

These examples, along with several of the contributions collected in this volume, make clear just how much concepts and perceptions of what was authentic and

reliable, and, thus, also of what was considered knowledge, changed depending on the respective historical contexts.

Structure of the Book

In an effort to do justice to the various types of media and knowledge of the world children encountered, the volume is divided into three sections arranged by typologies of knowledge, followed by a concluding chapter that addresses the relationship between the contributions and the currently expanding field of the history of knowledge, including intriguing questions for further research. Whereas this introduction has highlighted some of the important research into the history of childhood, the nation, empire, and the world in German history prior to 1918, and of children's media that inform our perspective, it has not thoroughly addressed the connections to the history of knowledge because this relatively new field, which provides an opportunity to connect the other fields with one another more than has previously been done, requires a more in-depth and programmatic discussion.

Nonetheless, it is our interest in the history of knowledge that forged the three typologies: official knowledge, literary knowledge, and knowledge in entertainment. To be sure, the distinctions among the various types of knowledge are rather fluid, and were even more so in the (early) nineteenth century, before widespread state-sponsored schooling emerged. While many of the contributions could easily fit into more than one category, the categorization should provide a basic orientation. The first part, "Official Knowledge," looks primarily at media created by educators and pedagogues in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, before state schooling had commenced (Belgum on Campe, and Anderson on Dielitz's travel anthologies), and then later, at the knowledge propagated in textbooks created for the emerging school system (Schleicher on French-language textbooks in Germany, Weiß on the portrayal of war in German textbooks, and Fiedler on Germany's image of Japan in textbooks). As varied as these media were, they all conveyed knowledge from the top-down in a sense.

The second section on "Literary Knowledge" then takes up the analysis of various kinds of literature and literary spaces. More than textbooks, but like the more literary endeavors of the pedagogues Campe and Dielitz of the first section, literature, and especially novels, appealed to readers because of their entertainment value and the emotional identification they enabled with their characters. The section begins with literature that was still quite closely connected to state actors and mediated a state-sanctioned and -desired view of the world designed to bind readers emotionally to the state (Schneider on royal travel fiction featuring Prince Heinrich of Prussia). Popular literature was driven to some extent

by consumers, so it can reflect more than state-driven media also the images consumers held and wished to maintain about people from other cultures, that is "Others" (Penny on images of Indians in German novels). Missionary literature, too, contributed to this "Othering" by reinforcing hierarchical worldviews, even while it, like other literature, encouraged emotional identification (Stornig on missionary literature).

The third section then moves even further away from state-sponsored activity, dealing primarily with entertaining forms of transmitting knowledge beyond popular literature, specifically games (O'Sullivan), trading cards (Blume), and toys (Hamlin). Like popular literature, these media had a strong commercial component and could, thus, be more influenced by the consumers, in these cases most especially children. These contributions highlight ways that knowledge had to be adapted to fit the media's formats and also show that children, in *playing* with the toys, cards, and games, creatively appropriated the knowledge in their own ways, which gave them some "agency" over the knowledge. This section also illustrates the breadth of media forms through which the wider world entered Germany and became part of the world of German children.

The articles juxtaposed here together demonstrate the variety of media for children, and sometimes how children acquired or reinterpreted the information or knowledge they obtained from them. Nevertheless, there are clear differences between the sections: whereas "official" knowledge allowed for far fewer interpretations, entertainment media thrived precisely on the abundance of different interpretations.

This collection is a first step toward a more comprehensive mapping of the discursively produced world(s) for children and adolescents in the various phases of the long nineteenth century—almost all the media that were important for children prior to World War I beyond the family and the church are addressed. Yet it is only a first step in that the findings, for the most part, are merely juxtaposed. Perhaps it will be inspiring and will ultimately lead to several of these media being integrated into the same investigative approach and analyzed in terms of their entanglements with one another—within a history of knowledge.

Simone Lässig is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Braunschweig. From 2006 to 2015 she served as director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. She is on leave from both positions since she was appointed the director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, where she has made digital history, the history of knowledge, and the history of migration foci of research. In her current research projects she focuses on Jewish history, religion and religiosity, and family and kinship. Among her numerous publications is the award-winning book *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum: Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2004).

Andreas Weiß is currently an assistant professor of history at Helmut-Schmidt-Universität – Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg. He studied modern and contemporary history, sociology, and Southeast Asian studies at Humboldt University, Berlin, and the Universidad de Cantrabria, Santander, Spain. His dissertation *Asiaten in Europa: Begegnungen zwischen Asiaten und Europäern* (Schöningh, 2016) is on a transnational topic, comparing debates on modernity and decadence between Asians and Europeans in turn-of-the-century Great Britain and the German Empire. His recent research focuses on connections between the European and the non-European world, exploring how these shaped European representations and knowledge of that world since the nineteenth century, as well as on European institutions during the Cold War, especially in exchange with Southeast Asia.

Notes

This chapter was written in German and translated by Patricia C. Sutcliffe, who also translated all quoted material originally in German.

1. Throughout this book, as in this instance, the German term *Lehrbuch* will be rendered as "textbook," although books for school curricula rather than university studies are meant.
2. Widmann, *Dr. Johannes Bumüllers Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte* (1897), 716–17. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523) was a German scholar in the Reformation era who became a follower of Martin Luther and a critic of the Roman Catholic Church.
3. Gall and Schulz, eds., *Wissenskommunikation.*
4. Mosse, "Jewish Emancipation: Between 'Bildung' and Respectability."
5. Mosse, "The Meaning of Bildung"; Hettling and Hoffmann, *Der bürgerliche Wertehimmel*; Lässig, *Jüdische Wege.*
6. Confino, *Nation as Local Metaphor*; Green, *Fatherlands*; Dickinson, "German Empire."
7. Lüsebrink, *Das Europa der Aufklärung.*
8. Lorenz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mittelschulen* (1902), 320–21.
9. Anne Kwaschik's new study, *Der Griff nach dem Weltwissen* (2018), looks specifically at knowledge practices from the late nineteenth century through the Cold War to scrutinize just such processes of categorizing and containing knowledge from outside the Western European world, as well as the colonial and area studies that emerged from these.
10. For a collection of studies on the processes of canonization in children's literature, in particular, in various periods and countries, see Kümmerling-Meibauer and Müller, eds., *Canon Constitution and Canon Change.*
11. Osterhammel, "Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte," 475.
12. Green, *Fatherlands.*
13. An early basic study on the history of the concept adolescence is Kett, *Rites of Passage.* See also Mitterauer, *Sozialgeschichte der Jugend*; Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*; Boucher, *Empire's Children.*
14. Hawes and Hiner, "Hidden in Plain View"; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*; Stearns, *Childhood in World History.*

15. The exact values were 10.88 percent under fourteen and 15.9 percent under twenty. https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1365/umfrage/bevoelkerung-deutschlands-nach-altersgruppen/

16. In 1911, four-fifths of the society was younger than forty-five years of age; see Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte: 1800–1866*, 110; idem, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, 30–31; Hohorst et al., *Sozialgeschichtliches Arbeitsbuch*, 24; Blackbourn, *Long Nineteenth Century*, 265.

17. Savage, *Teenage*; Roseman, *Generations in Conflict*; Reulecke, *Männerbünde*; Kerbs and Reulecke, *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen*; Koebner, Janz, and Trommler, *Der Mythos Jugend*.

18. Chakkalakal, *Die Welt in Bildern*, 10.

19. Schulz, "Der 'Gang der Natur' und die 'Perfektibilität' des Menschen," 18–19; Wolff, "Childhood and the Enlightenment."

20. For example, Prussian regulations called for teachers and textbook makers to present the material in such a way that children would find it interesting and take it in. National history, e.g., was not supposed to be taught as a mere listing of facts and figures but, rather, was supposed to appeal to pupils and "grab" their emotional side with narration, songs, and poetry. See Gernert, *Schulvorschriften*, xxviii–xxix, 23; Kennedy, "Singing about Soldiers."

21. See Smuts, *Science and the Service of Children*; von Oertzen, "Science in the Cradle"; Schumann, *Raising Citizens*; Fass, *End of American Childhood,* esp. 86–126.

22. Whaley, "Ideal of Youth", 47–68; Gillis, *Youth and History*.

23. Roseman, "Introduction," in Roseman, *Generations in Conflict*, 9–11, 13.

24. For middle-class and bourgeois families, see Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben.*

25. Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektür*e, 105.

26. The selection of appropriate educational methods and instructional media was supposed to prioritize the "nature" of the child; the pedagogy was to utilize rather than repress the children's imagination and adventurous spirit.

27. The role the educated middle class played in shaping the propagation of nationalism was long considered a German particularity. Cf. Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox, and Zantop, *The Imperialist Imagination*, 19.

28. Kirchhoff, *Schulgeographie* (1882), 28.

29. Oltmer, *Globale Migration*, 47; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*; Curtin, *Death by Migration*; Moch, *Moving Europeans*; Collinson, *Europe and International Migration*; Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*; Fitzpatrick, *Purging the Empire*; Geddes, *The Politics of Migration*.

30. Oltmer, *Globale Migration*, 17.

31. Ibid., 22.; Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer*, News from the Land of Freedom*; Helbich and Kamphoefner, *Germans in the Civil War*; Borges and Cancian, "Reconsidering the Migrant Letter"; Lyons, *Writing Culture*; Lehmkuhl, "Heirat und Migration in Auswandererbriefen"; Rößler, "Massenexodus," 151–52, emphasizes how important these letters were, particularly to the lower classes, as they did not yet have many printed works at their disposal. Examples of other media include emigration guidebooks, travel and adventure literature, picture-filled advertising posters for emigration agencies, etc.; Zahra, *Great Departure.*

32. Blackbourn, "Germany and the Birth of the Modern World."

33. See Brunken et al., *Handbuch: Von 1800 bis 1850;* Brunken et al., *Handbuch: Von 1850 bis 1900*; Eckhardt, "Imperialismus und Kaiserreich"; see also the relevant chapter in Schikorsky, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Wangering and Seifert, *Der rote Wunderschirm*, provides a clear overview of the various genres.

34. Zantop analyzed fiction and nonfiction texts from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in search of latent colonialism, colonial fantasies, and images. She found that the colonial project had already begun for educated readers as an armchair fantasy at that point, emerging in the imaginative world of print; Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*.

35. This metaphor is used, for example, in a textbook for secondary schools: Schönborn, *Geschichte für Mittelschulen* (1911), 67.

36. Oltmer, *Globale Migration*, 14; Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation*; Dickinson, "German Empire."
37. Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation*.
38. On the interactions between globalization and nationalism, see, e.g., Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, esp. 199–243.
39. On the connection between globalization and localization, see Middell and Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn"; on the boom of the *Heimat* concept, see Confino, "Nation as a Local Metaphor"; idem, *Nation as a Local Metaphor*; Applegate, *Nation of Provincials*; Blackbourn and Retallack, *Localism*; Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*; on the highlighting of the local to promote national identity in school readers for children, see Kennedy, "Visual Representations and National Identity."
40. Gernert, *Schulvorschriften*.
41. Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*.
42. Dickinson, "German Empire," 129, even regards an "imperial revision of German history" as vital. In slight contradiction to this thesis of a special path for Germany, see the two essays by Naranch and Eley in their edited book *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, 1–44.
43. In addition to the abovementioned works, there are also studies by Hans-Heino Ewers: "Kinder- und Jugendliteratur von der Gründerzeit bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg"; "Kindheit und Jugend in eiserner Zeit"; O'Sullivan, "Picturing the World for Children."
44. Ther, "Deutsche Geschichte als imperiale Geschichte." However, things looks quite different in the various disciplines that are generally associated with modern imperialism (medicine, anthropology, ethnology)—and colonial stereotypes do not necessarily mean that colonial attitudes were adopted; on this, see also Weiß, *Asiaten in Europa*.
45. Smith, "Introduction," 8.
46. After the American Civil War, Germans comprised the largest immigrant group until the early twentieth century; almost 90 percent of Germans who left the empire emigrated to the United States; see Heideking, *Geschichte der USA*, 200–201.
47. Hammerstein, "Elementarschulen"; and Wolbring, "Weltorientierung durch Schulwissen."
48. Gall and Schulz, *Wissenskommunikation*, especially Wolbring (see preceding note).
49. It is interesting to note that in the relevant sources (decrees, school regulations, curricula, textbooks), the term "*national* sensibility" seldom occurred until the First World War; *vaterländisch* education and *Heimat* were used instead. Klöcker and Apel, *Schulwirklichkeit in Rheinpreußen*; Meissner, *Die Nationalisierung der Volksschule*; Jacobmeyer, *Das deutsche Schulgeschichtsbuch*; Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*.
50. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 1132.
51. There is already a variety of special studies on the history of literature and education available on this.
52. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*.
53. Fass, *Children of a New World*, 2–3, offers an outstanding overview of the history of research on this. See also the review essay: Field, "Why Little Thinkers Are a Big Deal."
54. Quoted in Russakoff, "On Campus, It's the Children's Hour," *Washington Post*, November 13, 1998.
55. Maynes, "Age as a Category"; Gleason, "Avoiding the Agency Trap."
56. The range of topics extends from "children" and "youth" as transnational social formations to intercultural translation efforts of children and their ability to make their way into foreign spaces as "soft colonizers." Zahra, *Lost Children*; Boucher, *Empire's Children*; Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*.
57. Other research contexts in which the social and political relevance of children as historical subjects has been addressed include studies on international relations, political participation, historical delinquency, and war experiences. Mobility studies, too, have begun to determine

the role that children and adolescents play in the initiation, management, and handling of migration processes. Honeck and Rosenberg, "Transnational Generations"; Fieldston, *Raising the World*; DeSchweinitz, "Waked Up to Feel"; Grinspan, *Virgin Vote*; Norwig, *Die erste Europäische Generation*; Eckelmann, "Freedom's Little Lights" (forthcoming); Fass, *Damned and the Beautiful*; Kurme, *Halbstarke*; Mackert, *Jugenddeliquenz*; Kalb, *Coming of Age*; Chatelain, *South Side Girls*; Marten, *Children and War*; Stargardt, *Witnesses of War*; Kucherenko, *Little Soldiers*; Honeck and Marten, *More than Victims*; Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence*; Knörr, *Childhood and Migration*; Jorae, *Children of Chinatown*; Fass, *Outside In*; Jobs and Pomfret, *Transnational Histories of Youth*.

58. "Specific children's and juvenile literature" refers to publications written for the younger generation *only*, and "intentional children's and juvenile literature" to publications intended for children and adults.

59. See, for example, the international project Mapping the Republic of Letters, http://republicof-letters.stanford.edu/.

60. Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser*; idem, "Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit." On Jewish efforts at education and reading groups, see Lässig, *Jüdische Wege*.

61. Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser*, 117.

62. Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation*.

63. Maase, *Die Kinder der Massenkultur*; regarding popular literature, pulp fiction, and youth culture, see also Ritzheimer, *Trash, Censorship, and National Identity*. For a broader perspective, see Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panic*.

64. Jefferies, *Imperial Culture in Germany*; Reuveni, *Reading Germany*; Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany*; Fullerton, *Foundations of Marketing Practice*. For the working classes, see Abrams, *Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany*; Lidtke, *Alternative Culture*.

65. Even Jost Schneider does not devote attention to farmers in the nineteenth century and only a short section to workers; see Schneider, *Sozialgeschichte des Lesens*.

66. Pöggeler, "Printmedien im Kinder- und Jugendleben," 117; Bayer, *Minderheit im städtischen Raum*.

67. Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 125; Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek*; Langewiesche, *Zur Freizeit des Arbeiters*.

68. Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 142.

69. In the five decades after 1856, about four times as many publications appeared as in the four decades after 1800. Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 117; Jacobmeyer, *Das deutsche Schulgeschichtsbuch*.

70. Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 136.

71. Rolf Engelsing gathered comprehensive data for Bremen, showing that the number of people who borrowed publications increased tenfold between the founding of the empire and the First World War. The specific breakdown of the readership by likely age, class, and gender is very instructive. See Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 145.

72. Haupt and Torp, *Die Konsumgesellschaft in Deutschland*.

73. Maase, "Massenmedien und Konsumgesellschaft."

74. For a later period (1917–1950), see Cook, *Commodification of Childhood*.

75. When "consumers" could be addressed at all, they were the teachers and those who represented their interests. Nonetheless, one aim was to provide interesting lessons for pupils, so pupils, too, had a minimal influence in this respect; see also Bowersox, "Classroom Colonialism"; Meissner, *Die Nationalisierung der Volksschule*.

76. E.g., Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire*, chap. 2 (54–80).

77. Rutschmann, "'Der Schweizerische Robinson.'"

78. The tensions between literature for education and edification and for entertainment have continued to the present day. Hans-Heino Ewers, an influential figure in the history of

children's literature in Germany, pursues precisely such tensions in his collection of essays about West German children's literature since the 1970s: Ewers, *Literaturanspruch und Unterhaltungsabsicht*.

79. Chakkalakal, *Die Welt in Bildern*, 10. On pictures as a knowledge medium, see also Stafford, *Artful Science*; as well as te Heesen*, Der Weltkasten*.

80. Whereas Basedow primarily presented the world that adults were likely familiar with to children in his philanthropic-encyclopedic primer, Bertuch illustrated what was still unknown to many parents. Chakkalakal, *Die Welt in Bildern*, 8.

81. Jäger, "Medien," 491; on this, see also Maase, *Die Kinder der Massenkultur*.

82. Jäger, "Medien," 488.

83. See Graf, "Literarisierung und Kolportageroman," 284. On pulp fiction and the social distribution of media in general, see Jäger, "Medien."

84. Maase and Kaschuba, *Schund und Schönheit*, 89; Hölzl, "Arrested Circulation."

85. Geppert, Jensen, and Weinhold, eds., *Ortsgespräche*. According to this study, innovations in media technology and the increasing dynamism of society from the late nineteenth century led to a fundamental structural shift in communication and a change in the concept of reality (10); see also Honold, "Pfadfinder," in the same volume; Fuhrmann, *Imperial Projections*; Wolter, *Vermarktung des Fremden*.

86. Laukötter, "Das Völkerkundemuseum"; Penny, *Objects of Culture*; Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*; Zimmerman, "Science and Schaulust"; idem, *Anthropology and Antihumanism.*

87. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*. An interesting work on the later period is Hahnemann, *Texturen des Globalen*.

88. Müller organized special performances for children, showed short educational films, and combined films and presentations with fairy tale films. In addition, he drew other filmmakers to his hometown—they showed the Altenburg public British and French productions (Fuhrmann: "They were integrated into an educational programme whose quality was generally not questioned," 56). Fuhrmann, *Imperial Projections*, 55.

89. Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde*; Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt*; Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments*; Debusmann and Riesz, *Kolonialausstellungen*.

90. Wolter, *Vermarktung des Fremden*. Nonetheless, an oft-repeated criticism was that visitors only came out of a "desire for sensation" and would not adopt the knowledge that was intended to be transmitted; see Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*.

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